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project papers

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On the Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change
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AFRICA IN TRANSITION

A Social Anthropological Observation

by

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NOTES

In this issue of Project Paper we present lectures 2, 3 and 4 of a series of four lectures delivered by Prof. K.A. Busia of the University College of Ghana as a part of the course on "Racial and Ethnic Tensions in the Modern World" offered to the fifth semester of the Graduate School of Ecumenical Studies, 1956-57, Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches, Château de Bossey, Céligny, Switzerland.

The text herewith presented was transcribed from tape-recorded notes. The editors have taken the liberty of somewhat shortening all three lectures. They hope that in doing so they have not in any way distorted the original meaning of Professor Busia's thesis.

In Part I of this paper, "Africa Before European Colonisation", Prof. Busia described the spiritual world of African people before they were influenced by the European civilisation and Christianity, much of which is by no means completely lost even today.

In Part II, "Africa Under European Colonialism", Prof. Busia discusses some problems facing Africans under the European colonialism for the past century. The two parts taken together provide us with an excellent perspective from which to comprehend the nature and scope of the problems now facing the African people as they are undergoing tremendous changes, social, economic and political, as a result of century long impact of the West upon them.

In Part III, "Africa and Technical Civilisation", Prof. Busia strikes at the root of the problem which is challenging both the Church and the Society in Africa in the rapid process of industrialisation and urbanisation. Here he enables non-Africans to see the problems facing Africans from an African's point of view.

The headings given to each part is ours and so are the sub-headings within it.

These lectures were delivered in December 1956 a few months before the independence of Ghana took place, hence in the original text reference to that country was always cited as the Gold Coast. We have taken the liberty of changing it to Ghana except where reference is specifically made to the period prior to her independence.

AFRICA IN TRANSITION

A Social Anthropological Observation

by Prof. K.A. Busia, M.A.,D.Phil.(Oxon)

Part I - Africa Before European Colonisation

Metaphysics of Primitive Africa

In discussing the African conception of a supreme being as a creator, it must be pointed out that though the ideas may vary from tribe to tribe, they all believe that this supreme being is charged with power, and that this power can be both beneficient and dangerous. They also believe in lesser deities who are also charged with power. These deities may be associated with hills, trees, rivers and even with animals and other things in nature. But they all derive their power from the supreme being and they need to be propitiated by men. They take notice of men's actions, they desire human attention, they confer favours upon men and they punish wrong doing. (Please note, they punish wrong doing in this world not in the next.) The punishment may be misfortunes or illness or even death. These deities have moods; they do not always do what is good and sometimes they are destructive.

In this connection may I draw your attention to a very interesting problem. How do you preach about the problem of evil to a congregation with this kind of background? It is only when a god, who is not only omnipotent but also perfect and loving, is postulated, that the problem of evil becomes puzzling. But when you have a world peopled by gods of different potency, some of whom can be doing mischief to men, the problem of evil does not arise. Evil results from the action or counter action of one of the many gods. Nature too can have power. What is this concept of nature? I remember listening to a talk not long ago by a world famous agriculturalist who was bemoaning the fact that modern man's irreverent attitude to nature had resulted in the wanton destruction of nature, to such an extent that everywhere men were faced with the problem of the scarcity of food. Be that as it may, amongst many African communities there is the concept that nature too can have power:- Power both beneficient and dangerous. And nature too can have evil spirits. This is the doctrine which is often called animism. (That is to say a tree or a rock can be the habitation of a spirit.) May we just dismiss these ideas as the superstitions of an ignorant people? Or is there something here that we have got to deal with? In my country it was not unusual to see an African standing in the presence of a huge tree and offering an egg to the tree and repeating: "the ceder tree or the cotton tree, I am about to cut you, do not let any harm befall me. Do not let this knife spring back and cut me". Here is a reverent attitude being shown to a natural object; and along with it, the fact that this tree can also be useful. The reverent attitude does not preclude the tree from being useful. In the same way the farmer may offer a sacrifice to Mother Earth. Mother Earth is conceived as having herself a power, a potency which makes the things grow and the farmer must be on the right side of that power.

I would like to pose one or two problems especially for those of you who have grown up in Western culture, to be considered in relation to these matters. I grew up in a community full of such ideas as these. I saw libations poured to the spirit of the dead ancestors. Walking through the paths of my village I often saw eggs offered at the bottom on trees. Then I went to Oxford to read philosophy. There I was told that the things which I saw and which seemed real to me may not be real at all. They may just be figments in my own imagination. Sometimes I grinned and my grinning irritated

my teachers. It was the sign to them that this ignorant African was incapable of philosophical thinking. Maybe or maybe not. Because my mind continually flew back to what I had seen my own people do, I began to ask questions. First of all were they not also expressing something that could be put in a philosophical term? They were not expressing merely their ignorance of material substances or natural causes, but may also have been expressing a theory of reality. Namely that behind the visible substances of things lies an essence, or power, which constitute their true nature. I refer you to some of the modern descriptions of natural objects. When you read modern physicists' descriptions of the power and energy which not only lie behind but also compose all matter, you become aware that you are in a world that either demands your worship or your incredulity.

The African view of nature is that this nature has power and that this power may be both useful or harmful. It may be revered as well as used for man's benefit. The African may sit in Church, he may join in a harvest ceremony praising the creation of the Father and the gifts of the earth, but it will not stop him from thinking that the earth has power in itself. It probably will not stop him from taking part, without any sense of contradiction, in a ceremony of thanksgiving to the earth for her favours.

Concept of Man

What about man himself? There is a widespread belief amongst African peoples that man is a compound of material and immaterial substances and is both a biological and a spiritual being. The concept that physical death is not the end of man is illustrated in rituals, libations to ancestors and dances, throughout Africa. On this dualistic view of man the social organisation is sometimes built. The Ashanti people, for example, have a maternal kinship structure. They conceive of a man as being more closely identified with a mother's group than with a father, because the blood, according to their myth, is transmitted through the mother. Therefore, a person's status, citizenship, rights of inheritance, etc., are all derived from the mother. But the father transmits spirit - that which gives a man his personality; and this again is expressed in society in different ways. The man is responsible for the upbringing of his child although he shares responsibility with the mother's group. But there is one responsibility which is solely paternal - the responsibility for the moral upbringing of a child is wholly vested in the father. A man may be an adult, yet if he commits adultery with somebody else's wife, his father is held responsible for the payment of the satisfaction, because he is responsible for his moral upbringing.

Now among African people are found many and elaborate concepts of the soul. For example, as a spiritual being, the Ashanti is conceived as having a twofold gift of the spirit. There is one which determines character, individuality and personality (what in the native language you might describe as a "face or countenance"). This he receives from his father. There is therefore a bond of common worship of the soul between father and son. The Ashanti has a second gift of spirit received directly from the supreme being. This determines his destiny and what he does on earth. Among some other tribal peoples it is not unusual for a man to possess as many as four souls. One is inherited from the ancestor and is the guardian spirit of the individual. The second is the personal soul, while the third is a small bit of the creator that lives in every person's body. And the fourth soul transmitted through the adult male is associated with a concept of destiny. The heavy accent of heritage in this fourfold concept of the soul makes it impossible for an adult to know fulfilment of

himself apart from a fulfilment shared by all ancestral contributors to his spiritual wholeness. The concept of kinship amongst African peoples is marked by an emphasis on ancestral worship. The concept of the family is that it consists of a large number of people, many of whom are dead, a few of whom are living and countless numbers of whom are yet to be born. Amongst the Ashanti people the land which they occupy does not belong to the living alone. The living have only inherited the right to use it. Therefore they are not permitted to sell their land in the way in which European law conceives of the sale of land. A man may temporarily transfer to another his inherited right to use the land but he can never permanently part with land. A successor can redeem leased land because the real owners of the land are the ancestors. Of course, such a concept of group kinship obligations are hardly congruous in a world being invaded by competitive capitalism.

Problem of change

When we deal with this problem of change in Africa we must deal with the problem in a slightly different way from the treatment of social change in Europe. In Europe we are dealing with change resulting from technological development mainly initiated from within the framework of European society. In Africa you are dealing with changes and disruptions resulting from an invasion of technology into the framework of African society. And the results, as I shall try to show, are more revolutionary, because here we are dealing with changes resulting from foreign initiation.

I used to tell my teachers in economics that I could not understand their economic theories because they did not apply to my society. All the theories about demand determining supply just did not work in Africa. A man goes to a shop having sold his cocoa. He sees there a machine that he has never conceived of. A machine that plays records called a gramophone. He buys it. It is not demand that dictated that supply, it is supply which has initiated that demand. And when he takes it home he must adapt himself to that supply. It may very easily lead to a whole series of social changes. In fact, he has often to adapt his whole attitude to turn a new personality in order to fit in with Western concepts of industrialisation.

Many people who work with Africans will tell you that they have no con cept of time. When you are given an invitation you must ask whether the three o'clock on the invitation is European time or African time, the reason being that whereas European time indicates an exact point in the day, African time, at best, suggests the part of the day the invitor is referring to. Africans have to learn that they are living in a competitive capitalist economy demanding punctuality and making man a slave to a clock. A man who is illiterate has his own time. He gets up when he feels like it and goes to work when he feels like it. Slowly he is being forced to make a complete adaptation to a new situation which radically changes his old personality, even his concept of time. There is then in this whole gamut of changes a demand for changes in attitudes, habits and sentiments. When Church services are planned to begin at 10 o'clock, missionaries are probably unaware of the fact that they are introducing a revolution into the community. The Church itself is a vehicle of a new culture. In some respects the influence of the Church is a thin veneer. In other respects the Church as a vehicle of Western culture has made a very pronounced impact on Africa. What I have to say about the Church as a vehicle of culture may be slightly distasteful to those whose primary interest is the evangelistic work of the Church, but to evaluate in my own country the benefits of the Church and its real influence on society, I would give higher marks to its cultural achievements than to its spiritual evangelistic achievements.

The Sociologist's view

Now I think I have sufficiently introduced the problem of culture differences. What has a sociologist to say about this? The sociologist does get involved with philosophical questions in his studies, but his real job is to study societies in action. Here he finds that characteristic of man's dealings with one another is a scarcity of goods and a scarcity of positions. Therefore the problems of justice, rights and power always arise. In a sense, community life is a network of combinations of power. All group relations require some coercion. The question is not only how much power, but also how much freedom does an individual have. That is the sociological question. It is expressed in terms of the relationship between the chief and the subject, father and son, between husband and wife, etc. How much freedom ought we to have is not a sociological question and I do not think that the sociologist qua sociologist has got an answer to such a question. When a sociologist studies such things as land tenure, property, kinship relations, marriage, the reciprocal relations of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, of chief and subject, he learns about ideas of right and wrong. All these have reference to differing concepts of moral principles. And so we can say that the empirical studies of the sociologist and the social anthropologist point to the pluraism and relativism of cultural and moral values. This is a problem because motivations of right and wrong differ greatly and take on varying expressions in different communities. Are there certain broad principles which are applicable to all human societies or must we regard every society as having its own concept of right and wrong and its own moral system which all must respect? A well established sociological principle points out that virtue is not something which the individual can possess or enjoy independently of his fellows. A man attains fulfilment only in and through his participation in a culture. The inner harmony which constitutes his virtue must belong to the larger harmony of his life with others. The standards of virtue everywhere must be relative to culture. There is naturally a difference between the personality of a man who grows up in a culture where competition is keen, from a man who grows up in a stable and slow society where the emphasis is on gentleness, on patience and on keeping the same job in order to "win a gold watch after twenty five years".

Many African societies emphasise human behaviour and generosity. Men are respected not by what they accumulate but by what they give. The chief, for example, must maintain his position by his largess and liberality. (In the contemporary situation where his funds are limited, his beneficience suffers sometimes.) Now contrast this example with an economy in which you must defer immediate consumption in order to build up capital for further investment. Everybody who has studied African economy is aware of the lack of capital among African people. The fact is that the African family system and family structure makes it impossible for them to build up this capital. Therefore they are considered underdeveloped.

Main thesis

Now I come to my main thesis. Some sociologists have claimed that the data accumulated supports the view that since cultures are relative and since you must respect every culture in its own right because we have no scientific technique for evaluating cultures qualitatively, all we can do in order to live peacefully in this world of ours is to be tolerant of one another's culture. They have even criticised the idea of a universal declaration of human rights on the grounds that no one moral standard can be universally applied in a world of differing cultures.

Now you can see the obvious implication of this for Christianity. Christianity claims to be a universal religion because it is based on the supposition that it is possible for all men, irrespective of their cultural background, to share values in common. What then are we to make of this cultural relativism which some sociologists proclaim? Among the sociologists there are some who say in fact that things like justice, right and beauty can be discovered in every society but these universals have no common expression.

The sociologist cannot settle the general and abstract questions of philosophy and ethics implied here because his questions are posed differently. The questions considered by Butler or Bentham or Hume or Comte among other moral philosophers are not the questions normally or legitimately considered by sociologists. A sociologist does not ask what is the chief good, what is a right act, what is the ground of obligation? I am not implying that these questions have no social implications but they are not the central concern of the sociologist. What I am saying is that the primary job of the sociologist is to examine a particular society to ascertain the ideas of right and wrong (without imposing his judgment) that are held to determine the degree to which these ideas are embodied in the mores of the group. In this type of study, sociologists have discovered cultural diversities and similarities. They have discovered too that cultures are learned.

I have tried to show you ideas which are held in a community totally different from your own. We now turn to the question for the Church. Is it possible for Christians to have the kind of fellowship and communion which is based on shared values; or is cultural relativism so powerful that East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet? I do not think that the sociologist's questions are posed in a way which will enable him, as a sociologist, to answer this question. In my view we have to look for the answers along other lines. It is a sociological fact that cultures are learned. It is also true that in the midst of cultural diversities sociologists have shown that cultural characteristics can be transplanted from one culture to another. If a person is given a sufficient exposure to a culture he learns it. Therefore cultural relativism is not an adequate argument for a permanent division among men. And I believe that we have to take the Christian society itself as a sociological fact. When Christian people from different cultures and backgrounds do meet they find an intellectual and spiritual communion which is often closer than the communion they have with people of their own culture who do not share their faith. That too I think is a sociological fact.

Hallmarks of culture

Now there are some who are inclined to judge African cultures as backward and attach to it the descriptive title of "an underdeveloped country". Is this judgment made in terms of material culture or in terms of moral culture? What is the criterion of progress or what is the criterion of cultural judgment? As you know this is a question which philosophers and sociologists have asked and to which a variety of answers have been given. For myself the most convincing criterion for progress is the enlargement of human sympathy and a growing appreciation for justice and individual rights in their widening application over an expanding sphere of influence.

I want to conclude with a story. In 1817 the first British resident arrived in Kumasi in Ashanti, in Ghana. He witnessed many things with a

very keen eye. His book is full of very accurate descriptions of places, practices and attitudes. One of the things he described at length was a tribal purification ceremony. The chief came out bedecked in all his glory and his people followed him to the river where he sprinkled water on his people as a sign of the beginning of another year and thanks to the gods. This is all very beautifully described by the author. He also mentions the fact that leading the dancing procession there were two people who had been condemned to die. These two people had knives pierced through their cheeks and were being paraded in front of this procession, in their agony and pain, to their execution. The author with the sensitivity of a civilized man concluded his description with the judgment: "I was glad that I belonged to a civilized country". In the year 1945 an Ashanti, namely myself, was browzing round a bookshop in Oxford. I picked up an interesting book of photographs; illustrations of some of the concentration camps in Europe. I saw photographs of caves where human bones were piled on top of one another and where human bodies were reduced to ashes. I saw train loads of people stacked in a carriage, put out at their destination, all dead. I cut out one of these pages and I pasted it in my book of descriptions of Ghana in 1817. Across the very big picture of a Barbarian chief in all his glory I put one of these photos from a European concentration camp and beneath the one I wrote "Ashanti 1817" and beneath the other "Europe 1945" with no other comment.

Here I made a cross-cultural judgment as did the author of these 19th century descriptions who did not say to himself: "these people have a culture different from my own and therefore this torture of two people is something on which I cannot pronounce a judgment". Neither was I saying that these people in Europe have a civilization; they can ride on the earth, above the earth and can ride beneath the sea and can do things that I have never dreamt of before and therefore, I have no right to pronounce judgment on these murders.

I did make that judgment; is that not an answer, on the basis of experience, to the problem of cultural relativism? But do we not likewise give an answer to cultural relativism everytime a Christian community meets and within a short time, despite the diversities of backgrounds and cultures, break down these barriers and establish a true community? Is that not also a living sociological fact? There are sufficient illustrations to show that the problems of intercommunication can be overcome and real understanding of different cultural situations is not simply a theoretical possibility. Such calculated optimism based on sociological facts react against any opinion naive enough to suggest that East is (or could be only) East and West is (or could only be) West and never the twain shall meet (or can keep from meeting).

Part II - Africa Under European Colonialism

Colonialism Complex

The climate of opinion in the 20th century is in favour of the grant of independence to colonial territories and, therefore, there are many in Europe who appear to have a bad conscience on the subject. It is in fact becoming fashionable now to level the charge of imperialism or colonialism against a country that one seeks to discredit. The charge is immediately and indignantly repudiated, so that colonialism is now regarded as something to be ashamed of, and such an attitude is itself of historical as well as psychological interest. The feeling of guilt is understandable.

Colonialism has been associated with international wars, with slavery and exploitation and with some of the worst examples in the inhumanity of man to man. But this is not the whole story. It is out of the relationship created during the period of colonialisation that our contemporary international society has been born, and it is impossible fully to understand contemporary international relations without appraising them against the historical background of colonialism. Just think for a moment of Australia, Canada, India, Egypt, the Union of South Africa, the Middle East, Indonesia and let it not be forgotton the U.S.A., was once a colony, and you will realise what a force colonialism has been in the creation of the international society of the 20th century.

Motive

What led Europe into Africa? The reasons and motives which led European powers to seek colonies have been variously expressed at different times. The desire for markets and for trading posts, made necessary by the expanding industrialisation in Europe, has always been a predominant factor. To that extent the Marxists are right; but other reasons have also been given. Writing of the growth of the British Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries, Sir John Seely asserted (what has now become famous) that "the British conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind". Without any design the British found themselves in possession of an Empire; and there are some historians who maintain that subsequent research appears to bear out the truth of Sir John Seely's claim. It is true, for example, that in Ghana the British went out to trade without any design of founding an Empire. A study of the resulting policy bears this out. In the end they had to stay to rule.

Later, however, colonies were deliberately sought; partly because markets were desired and partly because the possession of colonies enhanced national prestige. One recalls Disraeli's Crystal Palace speach of 1872 in which he referred to the British possessions as proof of what he called "the commanding spirit of these islands". And there were many of his countrymen who shared his jingoism. During the period 1870 to 1910 economic development led to an intensification of the rivalry among European powers for colonies, particularly in Africa. "The scramble for Africa", as it is called in history, was (and this is interesting) justified on the basis of the latest Darwinian theories of social evolution which were then in vogue. Professor Karl Pierson, for example, in an article on the expansion of the Empire at this period had this to say: "history shows me one way, and one way only, in which the state of civilisation has been produced; namely, the struggle of race with race and the survival of the mentally and physically fitter race". So colonisation was justified by the biological theory of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. (Of course it is interesting that the Caucasoids fought many years amongst themselves and I do not know how this fact fits into the theory of race fighting against race.)

Mission

There were others who saw the reasons for colonialism differently. In their view Europe had a mission, indeed a divine mission, to colonise. This is exemplified, I think very effectively, in an article by Mr. Wyatt on "The Ethics of an Empire". He wrote of the British: "to us, and not to others, a certain definite duty has been assigned; to carry light and civilisation into the dark places of the world, to touch the mind of Asia and of Africa with the ethical ideas of Europe, to give to thronging

millions who would otherwise never know peace and security these first conditions of human advance". I know that there are many nationals in Africa and Asia to whom this will sound rather hypocritical in the light of the economic compulsions they have experienced. But I think the truth should be faced. When the results of the impact are examined, there can be no doubt that one of the factors to be considered in this situation has been that Europe has carried the light of civilisation into the dark places of the world, and that even if thronging millions have not been touched, there are hundreds who have been touched, and whose minds have been opened by this contact. The results of this fact we shall examine presently.

Dual Mandate

In the present century there has been another theory which is very similar to the "sense of divine mission" theory. I refer to Lugard's theory; in his book on the "Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa" he suggests that Britain had a dual mandate towards her colonies. This was first to help colonial peoples to advance and secondly to develop the resources of the colonies for the benefit of mankind generally. The motives and reasons for colonisation are thus very mixed. There is indeed the desire to profit or to enhance national prestige as well as the desire to serve others. Selfishness as well as altruism had a part in it.

The question that I wish to ask is, what did Europe carry to the colonial territories? What is the aftermath of the two or three centuries of the impact of Europe on Africa? This is really the situation with which we must be concerned. To me as an African there are several things that are most significant.

The first, (not in order of importance or evaluation, but in its obviousness and in its width of impact) is the fact that Europe carried to the colonies the products of its science and technology. That is to say the tokens of her power over nature. These included rifles and canons as well as the more positive contributions capable of raising the standards of life generally. Everywhere in colonial territories, from bicycles, motor cars, to electric lights and recently atomic stations, stands the evidence over which a signpost bearing the words "Europe has passed this way" might well be erected. Europe took to the colonies the means for improving the conditions of living and for prolonging human life as well as introducing diseases and weapons for destroying human life.

Impact of Education

Europe also carried into Africa the heritage of education. Education has been defined as the action exercised by generations of adults on those who are not yet ready for social life. I have pointed out that in this respect every society must have an educational system, by means of which the culture necessary for the survival, the continuity and the unity of the society is transmitted by the older to the younger generation. In this sense Africans have had a system of education, for without it they could not have continued existing as a community. What Europe carried to Africa is a more specific kind of education, namely schooling - the process of teaching and learning carried out in schools by people set aside for that purpose. Europeans introduced schooling into Africa and, usually, the content of what was taught was based on European culture. This is significant for an appraisal of the contemporary situation and some of the problems that we are up against. For example, the whole trend of the French system of education in French African territories has been towards

the production of a civilisation that is essentially non-African. The French philosophy of education does not consider that a curriculum for African schools can be based on African social life. In their view the best thing that can happen to an African is that he should become French. And education has been so directed. It is not so long ago that French pupils in French West Africa were using a text book in which little boys and girls recited: "a palm tree is a tree which does not grow in our climate". The point I want to make is that education in Africa has been an instrument of social change because through education new skills and ideas were conveyed to the colonial people and a new class of literate people has been brought into being. This was bound to effect social relations within the territory itself as well as relations between the educated nationals and their educators.

Education is an explosive force because it conveys new ideas as Lewis Dickenson put it, "whatever we may say or think, ideas are the greatest force in the world". Indeed education can be an instrument of change and a deliberate instrument of policy.

In the Belgian colonies the idea became popular to give as many Africans as possible an education up to primary school level to fit them for the semi-skilled vocations. In this way it was thought what the British in their folly permitted, (allowing a few people to go to the top ultimately to cause trouble and to agitate for independence) could be prevented. This policy was defensible in the interest of justice and equality for it did make it possible for everybody to have a share in some education. It is when you make too much education available to too many people that they begin to ask awkward questions. Even in the French system a few people are ushered up to the top but every effort is made to identify their interests completely with the colonising power so that they regard themselves wholly as Frenchmen. They are divorced from the bulk of the masses of their own people. They are made to see what great benefits have been conferred on them personally and hence are no longer anxious to give leadership to their people against the ruling power. Both policies, for different reasons, have failed and will continue to fail. But they have become deliberate policies and factors that must be taken into serious consideration in analysing the present situation.

European Law and Administration

Europe also carried to its colonies the benefits of European administration and law. European administration gave the framework for uniting tribes and setting new goals for governments (such as road systems, social services, schools, etc.). Especially significant are the concepts of individuality and individual rights conveyed to the colonies through European law, (especially French and British) which are based on the concept of natural law or the traditional emphasis on rights in European history. Those familiar with Prof. D'Entreves book on Natural Law will see what an explosive force the whole tradition of European Roman Dutch Law can be with its emphasis on the rights of individuals. In Africa and India, just as in France and America before then, the concept of this type of law in fact sets off a revolution for liberty. Those who have read the history of the Indian national congress and the speeches of the great leaders of the congress. know that they quote and defend their rights from British political philosophy which was made available to them through literacy. The same thing is happening in West Africa. You have only to read some of the speeches of members of Ghana's legislative assembly to see the use which they make of Dicey and Burke and other great philosophers, to see what a "dangerous"

situation is created when the concept of British law and justice are conveyed to the colonies and when colonial nationals in British schools learn and become masters and interpreters of British law.

Missionary

Now we come to the missionaries. Though they often precede the colonisers and settlers, the Gospel they bear is, in itself, a force, not only because it conveys new ideas, but because, as I have tried to indicate, in its organised form as a human institution it is the vehicle of culture. After Christianity is established in these colonial lands, it continues to be a vehicle of culture. For example, it influences the new situation in many African towns where, as I shall indicate in the next lecture, the tribal system and the system of kinship has broken down and is unable to cater for all the multifarious activities of this new life. The result is a birth of new associations, economic associations, political associations, and in place of the old tribal village and kinship groups many close associations are based on the Church. A group of people belonging to one Church may be members of a singing band sponsored by a Church meeting night after night. Out of this association may emerge a mutual trading association. This is the way in which many mutual benefit associations are coming to birth; and the reason why we must regard the Church and the preaching of the Gospel as one of the factors in the changing conditions of Africa.

The Gospel out of Europe

Above all, colonialism is a sociological fact. It is essentially one of human relations between Europeans and non-Europeans, often between a few Europeans in the colony and a large number of Africans whom they go to rule in the name of the Queen or the King. We shall pass over in meaningful silence the relations between the slave-owner and the slave. We do not need to flog that horse. But we must draw attention to the fact that in the colonial situation the relationship between the European and non-European was the relationship between possessors of power and privilege and those who were weak and underprivileged. This is the human side of Europe's technological superiority. Every European in a colony was a representative of his powerful country; whose power was based on its superior technology. He carried with him the prestige of his nation and quite naturally this prestige often attached itself to the missionary also. He belonged to the ruling race, whether he liked it or not, and it greatly affected his relationship with his flock. It could be and often was a barrier. I myself have listened to many missionaries talking about the areas in which they have worked ten years or even twenty years, and imparting to their brothers in Europe a lot of misinformed and incorrect statements. Some African students, listening to these reports, have reacted so violently to this what seemed to them to be lies and distortions of the truth that they have turned completely against the Church. This I think is partly due to the fact that the missionary in Africa is a member of the ruling race carrying that prestige which has often been a barrier for them really to know the people. He has met his flock only as a pastor and when they have paid him the deference due from an inferior to a superior, unconsciously he has been filled with the joy and pride that come to those who have favours to bestow on the humble who will meekly accept them. It is a dangerous spiritual situation for anyone who is privileged to carry the Gospel into Africa. It feeds one's pride and thereby obstructs the thing which one is honestly trying to accomplish.

Colonialism and International Relations

In this situation of power and privilege there are lessons for international relations. The impact of Europe upon Africa has been the impact of the powerful on the weak. There the goals that are set for the colonial territory are those of power, and the major problem is how the colonial territories can obtain the means to this power. Its importance therefore for international relations is quite evident here. International relations are the most significant result of colonialism. Colonialism has led to the creation of new nations and to the birth of nationalisms resembling the nationalisms of Europe. Sometimes I say to my fellow sociologists that to understand Europe one better go to Africa where Europe has reproduced its kind. And most important, Europe has produced nationalisms in Africa. That is to say people are joined together from different tribes, sometimes tribes previously at war amongst themselves, into a common administration and they obtain a political consciousness and a common political aspiration. The French writer Maurier writing on French colonies has this to say: "The first effect of colonisation is to lift the native from tribe to town, from town to nation, to engender among them common interests and common feelings, to awaken in them a national spirit, token and consequence of the revolution in their social status. For the whiteman's rule brings them either territorial or tribal law. The conception of wider community was introduced by the French. It was contact with the French which gave the native the feeling of a common destiny which is the basis of nationality." One could say the same thing of the British rule in Africa. In Ghana today with the withdrawal of British imminent, this question has become a reality. It was British sovereignty which bound together the four different territories of the south Ashanti, the northern territories, and Togoland. It was the hatred of the alien ruler which supplied the negative force for unity and a sense of nationhood. And now that that force is about to withdraw the consciousness of their divisions is apparent and a new consciousness of unity must be built. Sir Alfred Zimmern noted the same thing of Asia. Writing in the congregational quarterly in 1949 he had this to say: "more than half the population of the globe lives in South Eastern Asia including China. Throughout that area with its crowded masses, the one dominent influence now and for some time to come is, and will be nationalism. These are the inevitable reactions of people who had been living for generations under a humiliating sense of inferiority in the face of the pride, the prejudice and too often the crude biological fallacies of their white superiors."

Hope for Harmony

This helps to explain why nationalism in the colonies starts by being anti-European, and yet the very nationalism which is anti-European is intensely European. It is the offspring of European technology, science, administration and education carried into Africa. It owes its birth to European contact and to the values and ideas conceived through access to European literature. As to the crude biological fallacies of their white superiors, we hope that they have been laid and nailed to their coffin and buried forever. For wherever the nationals of colonial territories have been given opportunities of education, they have shown themselves capable of mastering the alien cultures of their rulers. Cultures can be learnt and that, as I pointed out, is one of the major contributions that sociology has made to the study of international relations; to provide evidence of the fact that cultures can be and are being learnt. It suggests that the road of equality of opportunity of education and

especially of higher education, is the one along which we may hope for harmony particularly in multi-racial communities.

Contact with Europe has given birth to new nations, and has also decided for them the goals which they should pursue. The phrase "underdeveloped territories" by which these countries are known is itself significant. There are some who dislike the expression. But it is significant that it should have been chosen and used at all, for above all it tells us something about Europe. The countries are regarded underdeveloped in terms of technology and industrialisation, the standards of output and consumption in comparison with Europe. Thus it betrays a judgment based on a choice of values on the part of Europe.

Result of Colonialism

The result of colonialism in Africa, as in India, has been this: The growing offspring of nations in quest of power; the power which will enable human beings to have more and more of the good things of life both popularly and technically expressed in the shorthand phrase - higher standards of living. These, they have been taught, they may hope to achieve through science and technology which are the instruments of civilisation. There are some who are prone to believe they are the instruments of salvation also. One has only to look at the discussions on contemporary education in Britain and America and the emphasis on trade and technology there in order to see what I am talking about. It is therefore not only for Japan and Russia that Europe has determined the values which should be sought by nations and consequently their national policies, but also for many of the nations that have been born or are being born through colonialism.

In my own country within a few months, if things go well, we are to have independence. This goal is so strong that at present our biggest and most important project is the mining of bauxite, a Volta River scheme which is to cost £300,000,000 sterling. (This is a sign of our growth and of our emergence as a nation.) We have a river running right through Ghana. We also have bauxite deposits. The idea is to build a new harbour, to build a dam and to start the production of aluminium in a Ghana built aluminium plant. Canada, Britain and the United States are interested in this also. In fact the concentration of interest on the coming independence of the Gold Coast is not primarily a moral interest at all. The Gold Coast wants to be independent so that it can sign agreements with Canada and America and Britain for working the Volta River project. In spite of the law standards of living of the farmers and of the ordinary villager; in spite of the fact that you can walk through the northern territories village after village without seeing a single lamp post in the street; that you can go through village after village in my own constituency which I represent in the assembly during the dry season and see women walking five to ten miles in order to fetch muddy water for use in their houses; in spite of all this we have accumulated about £100,000,000 locked up in London, hoping to use some of it for the development of the Volta River scheme. For this will be a sign of our industrialisation and therefore serve as acceptable evidence of our emergence as a modern nation. These goals are determined by the emphasis and the criteria which are used to judge nations. Goals foreign to Africa, but the measure by which African nations are judged - the measure of scientific and technological power.

African Potential

The real potentiality of Africa, however, does not lie in its mineral deposits or in its forests or in the power of its rivers. The real poten-

tiality of Africa lies in its human material; that is always an unpredictable thing. No one knows what the men and women of the present generation or the next generation in Africa are going to become. That is why I emphasise the very simple and obvious thing that there is only one species of homo-sapiens upon the surface of the earth. They can learn, and what they are going to learn will be determined by what they are made to consider to be the values worth pursuing in this "power over weakness" situation.

The advance in science and technology have made men "nuclear giants", but failures in human relations (such as racial segregation in the U.S. or apartheid in South Africa, or tensions in the Middle East, or massacres in Hungary) give plenty of evidence of their ethical infancy. All this is relevant to the colonial situation because colonialism has given birth to nations to which the benefits of science and technology have been handed, which in turn created in them the insatiate quest for more and more power to improve the conditions of life. It has become increasingly clear that the international society, in which the higher standards of life can be maintained through science and technology, must be based not only on the foundation of a common technological civilisation, but also on the foundation of certain common ethical principles. I believe that in this situation there is cause for optimism. There are indeed diversities of cultures and ways of life, but colonialism has also given proof that beneath those diversities, every human heart is human; and we express a common humanity in cooperation, friendship and mutual and active sympathy as well as in competitions for power and more power. Just as technical advances are spreading a common material civilisation, so also it is possible, I think, to advance in mind and spirit, not indeed for a common culture, but to an awareness of a common humanity which would enable all to contribute to, and receive from, the common heritage of mankind, made all the richer by a diversity of gifts and contributions. As I see it, these are the greatest contributions that sociology can make or has made in this situation. In spite of its emphasis on its cultural diversities, sociology has shown: 1) that cultures need not permanently divide; 2) that cultures are learnt; 3) that across the frontiers of cultures can be erected the basis for mutual understanding because all men share a common humanity and common capabilities.

Part III - Africa and Technical Civilisation

I now wish to speak on the effect of industrialisation on tribal and family life in Africa as perhaps the most telling illustration of the new situation. In talking about industrialisation in Africa we must define it more broadly to include all technological developments in general and not simply the growth of large scale manufacturing, including such things as industrial agriculture, mining, the development of transportation, systems of communication, telephone, the railway, motor car and urbanisation etc.

In Europe when we deal with industrialisation we are concerned with processes, techniques and machines resulting from a technical revolution, initiated from within the framework of European society itself. The problem of social adaptation to technology initiated from within a society

is different in degree to the problem of adaptation to technology introduced into society from outside, which is the situation in Africa. I will try to illustrate the changes in social relationships which such a situation demands.

Mining and Plantations

One of the four principle forms of industrialisation is mining. I begin with mining only for purposes of analyses and not to establish a chronological sequence. Mining in Africa leads to many problems, including the settling or resettling of labour, bringing out people from their villages to a mining camp, the erection of strange villages, wholly directed to the production or extraction of minerals.

A mining camp is a strange and interesting sight. There many people have come together from different villages. Usually it is a community constituted by a larger proportion of men over women, a larger proportion of young men over older men, few children and a few old men. The average age in a mining camp is under forty.

The second form in which industrialisation has come to Africa is along the development of plantations, involving the employment of a large proportion of workers, most of them seasonal workers. In Liberia, for example, the Firestone Rubber plantation employs a large number of Africans from the neighbouring villages, who work for short periods to earn money for particular purposes and then return to their villages until more funds are needed. In time a group develops which will establish permanent residence. They learn technical skills and become foremen and headmen for the more transcient workers.

Plantation work means that a person leaves his tribe and village to go to sell his labour for cash. Here are introduced both a radically new concept of time and the idea of selling time as if it were a merchandise. It also means the introduction of a money economy (or where it already exists its extension) and the growth of a wage system and a trading system. In the African situation the idea of wage-earning and trading are sometimes quite incompatible with tribal life.

Breakdown of Old Pattern of Life

Let me give you an illustration. In the mining village people have to work by the clock; they get up in the morning, they have no time to do any cooking, sometimes a man has come away alone, so there is nobody to cook for him. This is a new situation; someone is required to provide cooked food and so the restaurant is initiated to Africa. This means new habits. I, through living in Europe, have become accustomed to seeing adult men and women eating in the streets. Now in Africa it would be unthinkable to see an adult person eating in the street. It just is not done. There you are in a community where eating is a family affair expressing friendship and relationship. In an industrial society where you just do not have time you have to have your meals when you can. Now when you bring a man from his village to a mining camp and force him to buy cooked food, you are already breaking tribal customs and tribal ways. Then there emerges the woman who is going to earn a living by selling the food. Quite often the labourer does not have the money until the end of the month. Now suppose the woman comes from a village also and is related to the labourer. A new and complex situation has been

created. The idea that he should have food from a person or a kinsman and must pay in cash for it is unthinkable. Therefore it is very likely that at the end of the month the man does not pay and the poor woman is in difficulty. The tribal relations are incompatible with money economy. Therefore, in order to be successful the woman has to travel outside her own tribe to sell her wares or sell her food, where she can treat the people as mere customers. Thus a wage earning system has brought about the necessity for changes and radical adaptations in human relations.

Then there is a second factor. The things which are grown in plantations and in which European capital is invested are the raw materials which are needed to feed European industry or to feed the European. It means that in the economic development of African territories, priority of concentration has been given to the things that are needed by the industries in Europe. Therefore an uneven development is inevitable. In a large agricultural community, efforts must be concentrated on growing cotton or cocoa, to such an extent that the people have to buy food from industrialised Europe, even though they are living in a predominantly agricultural land. Bread, previously unknown in Africa has now become very popular because it is easy to obtain and filling. You would be amazed to see to what extent bread has become a stable diet in Africa. The wheat for the bread comes to us from Canada. We have to pay in dollars in order to get it. You can see what is already happening. Ghana produces, on about three hundred thousand small farms, more than a third of the world's production of cocoa. But in the meantime while concentrating on such productions to be used in industrialised countries, she is buying basic foodstuff which she could just as well grow in her own area. This is not a process of conscious specialisation, but it is the sort of thing which inevitably happens in this uneven kind of development where we find mining and other industries determine the types of agriculture. In the countries nearing political emancipation similar conditions often exist. Political advance has outrun economic advance, and political emancipation may be succeeded by economic domination or economic imperialism.

Cash Crops, Transportation System and Factories

The third kind of development is the large scale industrial crops, not by European capital but by large numbers of African small farmers hiring African labour. This is the way in which Ghana grows its cocoa, or rice and cotton are grown in the French Sudan, or peanuts are grown in Senegal and Gambia. Here another new kind of situation is presented. Production is still for exportation to an industrial country but the farming is done on the basis of Africans hiring other African labour. This too is seasonal labour and sometimes it means that one tribe offers its labour to another tribe, which creates tribal relations of the same order as the employer - employee relations and the power situations as existing between Europeans and Africans. There emerges a similar power relationship among Africans. Attitudes in this inner-African business relationship are similar to attitudes in a European-African relationship. It is just as easy for an African to exploit an African as it is for a European to exploit an African.

Another way in which industrialisation presents itself is in the development of transportation and factory. This too leads to the provision of diverse ways of earning a living. Those who acquire new skills are able to earn more, which results in the emergence of a class structure. Also in order to make factories and railways possible people had to be brought together insofar as the industry was founded on coal. (I

do not care to predict, not being a scientist, but if it is possible to use atomic energy in industry and civil engineering, it might bring about still different kinds of concentration of populations.) I am emphasising this to indicate the way that towns have had to grow in Africa where industry was introduced on the basis of the technology prevailing in the 19th and early 20th centuries. To give people a railway, they must have a railway center where the trains will be serviced. This means that opportunities are created for all kinds of differentiations, from the signwriter to the footplateman to the highly trained engineer. They are earning differently and therefore new relations are being set up all the time. The growth of urban population is thus one of the things that has followed the development of industrialisation in Africa. In these towns in their early stages one finds the preponderence of youth over aged, of men over women, the development of slum conditions, the emergence of a labouring class and, as I shall indicate presently, the formation of new types of associations. Because in some ways the organisation presents problems that are similar to problems in Europe, the processes of town life have received more study in Africa than the effect of all this industrialisation on rural areas. And yet this latter effect is no less important. The de-population of the villages is a factor we must take into account. In 1942 a team from Oxford (an anthropologist, an economist and a geographer) made a study of Ashanti and found that in rural areas there was a deficiency of men and women between the ages of 25 and 35. They had migrated to the urban centers of the mining towns and to newer cocoa farms. This results in concentrating development in the town, rather than the village where the standard of living is bound to drop. Yet these country folk are the ones who are working to feed the town; a situation which creates a section of upper stratum in the society at the expense of the farmer.

Urbanisation

An illustration was given by Schapera's study of Bechuanaland where in the third quarter of 1943 he pointed out that about 33,000 Africans including women were away from their tribal areas. Some of them had gone to other parts of the territory; some of them at that time were in the army; and the rest were in Southern Rhodesia. There are many reasons for this. Exhaustion of land is one. Then the towns provide a better market for the skill of the enterprising artisan. For the educated person who cannot sell his skill in the village the city is a necessity. In Bechuanaland, however, most of the tribes have sent labourers to the Union of South Africa for nearly 100 years. It is estimated that more than 80 percent of the men now alive have had some experience abroad in the Union and so it has become an accepted pattern that at least once in his life time a man should visit the Union. He gains in social prestige by a trip so that there is not only the desire for adventure but also an economic necessity. This is all expressed quite adequately in a popular song originated in Ghana. It is what we call a "high-life" song, our own version of jazz. Our song describes a girl who is wishing her fondest desires:

What shall I do to get a man of that type?
One who is a "been to", (i.e. one who has been abroad, particularly to Europe)
"Car full" and "frigefull"? (i.e. possessing a car and a refrigerator)
What shall I do to obtain a man like that?

She wants a man who has been educated in Europe, who owns a car and who owns a refrigerator. Now the elements of attraction are clear in this little popular song. It is a different version of the story of the pull of industrialisation and the new values that it sets up. The opportunities to earn cash wages offered by industry as well as desire for social improvement and prestige draw people to the town. The effect on the tribal life is that, in many cases, able-bodied men are away and women have to take responsibility for the family and consequently there is a break in family life and sometimes even disruption and disorganisation in village political systems.

Then there is the growth of urban life itself. That means that people are away from their tribes. In the town you get a large number of different people from different tribes having to make their living side by side with one another. In Europe I think a man tends to regard himself as belonging to the place where he lives and works. In Africa a man always lives in the context of kinship and he always belongs to his original tribal village. Even if he lives in the town for thirty years, he is still a member of his tribal village. You can see the effect of this on the development of any sense of civic responsibility within a municipal area. People belonging to a tribe of one are living in the town will often club together and form a tribal association. They may raise money to improve their village, but not the town in which they live. At the same time because they are outside their tribe they have to form new associations in order that some of their immediate necessities may be met.

In studying town life we find two different types of the urban community. In West Africa most communities consist of an intermixture of tribes and a sprinkling of people from Europe and from further afield. But the problem of relationships here is different from the problem in East Africa or in South Africa where a permanent settlement of Europeans is found, where problems of multi-racial relations and marked class distinctions reach a climax. In these situations kinship ties are usually giving way to other kinds of associations, some of these associations will usually be tribal - that is to say a membership in a tribe is still a primary factor in social organisation. Although a tribe may be geographically distributed in a town they do form associations of their own. So even the urbanised tribe is not altogether disintegrating. The problem in African communities where friendship groups and mutual aid groups (some of them along the lines of tribal membership) are multiplied is interesting. In a study that was done of Brazzaville for example they found friendship groups and mutual aid groups and to some extent even occupational associations well within the tribe. In Douala they form age-set groups; people born between 1915 and 1918 will form an association of their own - sometimes it is mixed, sometimes men alone, sometimes women alone. I was interested in investigating the aims of one of these groups. Three were stated:

1. to provide mutual aid in cases of illness or death
2. to facilitate social contact between members of the same generation
3. to assist members in quarrels with older generations.

Here is a striking example of the fact that this new situation does increase the tensions, which in any case are normal, between one generation and another.

New Associations

There have also been established numerous associations which cut across tribal lines. In Leopoldville for example Comhaire Sylvain in her study talks about associations which are formed on the basis of the possession of a common christian name - all Johns will form an association. It shows how strong is the yearning for associating to provide the kind of mutual aid which they thought they had lost by moving out of their tribe. Sometimes associations are, as in Nairobi, on the basis of a place of residence. Now the effect of all this on the tribal life must be carefully studied because it is precisely this which poses some of the problems facing churchmen today. This problem must be seen in reference to the old pattern of African kinship. In Africa an essential part of the indigenous social structure is the system of kinship and marriage. Africans regard marriage as an arrangement which enables persons to live together and cooperate with one another in an orderly social life, and this social life includes economic, social, political and religious activities. Therefore, one way of looking at the kinship system of Africa is to regard it as a complex set of norms and usages and patterns of behaviours between kindreds, that is as a means of providing all the activities which are necessary for a full life.

There are different domestic groupings in Africa, varying from the monogomous household consisting of fathers and children and their unmarried children, to the polygamous family of two or more wives where a mother and her children constitute a separate unit, or the extended parental family where a man lives in the same household with his married sons and their wives, or the domestic group consisting of a man and his wife with their daughters and their husbands. But whatever the size of a domestic group you will find that the range of relationships which are recognized for social purposes extends beyond the domestic group to include other kinsfolk who are descended either on the maternal line from a common ancestress in those tribes where the emphasis is on maternal descent, or descended from a common ancestor where the emphasis is on paternal descent. Marriage is an integral part of this kinship society insofar as it is not only a socially recognized bond between persons, which in Africa is the less important aspect, but a socially recognized bond between two kinship groups.

In a town, this situation naturally changes. In the tribal situation provision is made for the groups to exercise influence on the marriage - they exercise an influence on the choice of the mate on the assumption that the older generation know better than the younger. They exercise an influence to keep the partners together and also to help them in the early period when they have to adjust not only to each other but also to their different kinship groups. Here it is said deliberately and advisedly that mates are chosen by the older people on the assumption that they know better. The reason is this: in many societies the consideration for a choice of a mate in marriage is not on the basis of romantic love or romantic attraction of the partners. That is a comparatively recent development in Europe beginning about the 13th century and recently idolized in Hollywood. Most societies train their people to recognize that any well bred boy and girl if properly brought up can make a home.

For them love and affection are to develop within marriage and thereby the attraction of one for the other. I am not saying that love does

not exist. It does and grows and may be shown in extremities by an elderly person.

Transition from Tribalism to Citizenship

The groups are very conscious of their rights and privileges. The point is in marriage you have a group that is interested in you and that is keeping watch over you. Now when you move into the new situation, they are not there, and therefore different arrangements need to be made in which the emphasis shifts from the group to the persons and there you get a new kind of life. There in the town situation you get the influence of Christian teaching and also of British or French law, operating on the marriage and on inheritance. There is also a shift in family responsibility and relationships. According to the old custom a member of a family may claim food and shelter and even clothing from another member. In a tribal situation where all are working on a farm as one big family this may not be a heavy burden on anyone. In a new wage earning system where one man does well and becomes a clerk or an accountant or a railway man or a motor-lorry driver and goes to live in the town, this can be a heavy burden on him because other relations going to the town to look for work expect not only to stay with him but also to be fed by him. In that situation you painfully feel the ties of kinship; and either because the people in the town are too poor or because of their European influenced attitudes, you begin to see what is referred to as the breakdown of kinship. On the basis of entirely different standards of value, you will be told that the old system is not good, for it prevents differentiation in standards of living and consequently it brings down the man who is trying to raise his standards; or it prevents the accumulation of capital and therefore it is altogether wrong. It is a judgment based on a certain standard of values. Once I saw a man who was digging a grave by the roadside, where a relative who had died hundreds of miles away was to be brought back at an especially high charge to be buried. I asked him why he was doing that. His reply was "blood is more than money". That too is a judgment of values; so that in spite of the effect of all this industrialisation, family ties and family ideals are still holding their own, and they constitute a part of the contemporary situation. You can see that there are situations involving conflict, a conflict of values and ideas, and though attention may be concentrated on politics, the real ground of suspicion and distrust often lies elsewhere. I would like to end by pointing out just two things.

The Challenge before us

First of all the threat of industrialisation is to break the self-sufficiency of African tribes, and that this is its most important result. But we must mark that the self-sufficiency of African tribes is built on the basis of a low standard of living, and that to raise the standards of living requires inter-dependence, and this is in fact what industrialisation does; to break their self-sufficiency and make them inter-dependent between the town and communities outside, between Africa and Europe and so on. If they have to eat bread and if wheat and so on are coming in from outside, they have already been made a part of a larger economic system. For areas that are inter-dependent and multi-racial this is important. To relate this to the problem of South Africa, the issue of economic inter-dependence puts apartheid in a new light. One of the best studies I know of this situation was done by Dr. de Kewit

who has pointed out that the growing shortage of labour in the Union of South Africa has, within it, the difficulty to enforce apartheid, and secondly that in South Africa the physical or geographical aparheid is impossible. There are more millions of people living outside the native reserves than there are within them. Geographical apartheid might possibly prove feasible, if the resources in the reserves are able to maintain the native population, but they are not. The fact is that the native populations are even more dependent upon industrial activities of the large towns than the whites themselves. In this situation we see how unrealistic apartheid is. Dr. de Kewit said something which I think is rather alarming. "In the decision to impose severe measures of segregation upon natives and coloured folk and Indians alike, there is a quality which arrests one's attention. It is more than consistency. It is the quality almost of integrity, of total belief in the right of white civilisation to maintain itself at the expense of everybody else, of complete faith that apartheid is a goal to be courageously sought whatever the danger and sacrifice. It has the power of moral compulsion over the minds of men with breadth of racial pride, national zeal, religious ferver and historic anger. Apartheid may commit South Africa to great international embarrassment, to frustration, even to disaster, yet its zealots are refreshingly and naively unmacheavalian." This I think gives the problem an alarming dimension because here we are not dealing with facts or with logic or with personality but with emotion and with faith. That constitutes one challenge.

My second point is this. When you look at industrialisation from the point of view of human beings you will find that African communities are able quickly to master the skills and techniques which are necessary for running machines. The point where the problem lies is that (I do not imply that Europeans are angels, but) there is a certain moral quality and a certain system of moral values necessary for running a society in which machines are operated. In my view it is at that point that Africans are faced with their biggest difficulty. It requires, for example, a wider sympathy, a bigger responsibility, to live in a town which is operating on the basis of partial knowledge of a person, instead of the total knowledge which is possible only in a village community. It requires a certain integrity and a certain standard of honesty to operate a system of democracy, far more than the ability to operate a ballot box. So that the test in either case is not in mental ability, nor in technical abilities or skills, although people will write about the lack of engineers, technicians and so on; they can be made good much more quickly than a realisation of the fact by the populace that an industrial society in order to work efficiently requires not only efficient machines but the acceptance by its citizens of certain standards of values and a certain standard of integrity. In many of these African territories, the serious shortcoming is at this point of learning and practicing the values so necessary for wider communities and there I think the Church meets both its challenge and its opportunity.